

AN APPEAL  
TO THE  
HEAD AND HEART  
OF EVERY  
MAN AND WOMAN  
IN  
*K.*  
GREAT BRITAIN,  
RESPECTING  
THE THREATENED FRENCH INVASION, AND  
THE IMPORTANCE OF IMMEDIATELY COMING  
FORWARD WITH  
VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS.

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Oh, England! model to thy inward greatness,  
Like little body with a mighty heart,—  
What might'st thou do that Honour would thee do,  
Were all thy children kind and natural.

*Shakespeare's Henry V.*

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AN

## APPEAL TO THE HEAD AND HEART,

&c. &c.

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THE Title prefixed to this Publication is perhaps the most general and comprehensive that has yet been employed to introduce a work to the notice of this Country. But I trust that it will not be found more general than its application will warrant. I mean to discuss the common—the essential—the unalterable—the unalienable interests of every *Man and Woman* in Britain. The high and low, the rich and poor, the learned and unlearned, the supporters and opposers of Administration—nay the friends and foes of the Government and Constitution (if there really be any persons of the latter description) are all alike interested in the matters which I am about to submit to their consideration.

Every person born in this Country of whatever party or description he may be, is intitled to the appellation of Briton—an appellation which for many centuries has commanded respect all over the world.—In that general and honourable character he has an interest distinct from the rest of mankind. Whatever his sentiments or wishes may be respecting internal regulations it is of the utmost importance to him that his

A 2 Country

Country be flourishing, prosperous, and independent. Whatever relates to Great Britain considered as a nation among other nations is his intimate and peculiar concern. It relates to his individual happiness, honour, and consequence.

At this moment all his interests in the above character are exposed to a great and unprecedented danger. The Country to which he belongs, and in which all his personal, domestic, and social feelings have taken root, is menaced with destruction. A foreign foe, who has ravaged a great part of Europe, and spread havock and desolation through a variety of other states, prepares, as his last and greatest exploit, to invade and subdue this Island. France, our ancient rival, our bitter enemy, seeks to pour her ferocious multitudes, inured to blood and rapine, upon our Coasts, in order, not merely to ravage and plunder, but to put an end to our existence as a Nation. This is the danger which stares us in the face. This is the fate from which nothing but our own exertions can save us. Nothing less than to see our Towns and Villages—our granaries and warehouses—our neighbourhoods and dwellings plundered and ransacked by our natural and irreconcilable enemies, rendered a thousand times more savage than the wildest beasts, by the habits of licentiousness and ferocity, which they have now been forming for above eight years.—Nothing less than to be forced to submit tamely to the brutal rage of these unprincipled monsters—to feed their insatiable thirst for plunder with the fruits of our labour, with the earnings of our industry—to look on, incapable of resistance, while they are greedily employed in the subversion  
of



of our Government and Constitution, of our Laws and Liberties—while they are taking possession of our Dock-yards, Arsenals and Navy—while they are destroying at once all the sources of our prosperity—all the objects of our pride—all the securities of our comfort—all that our ancestors have been able to establish in the course of a thousand years—all that we ourselves have hitherto defended from the attacks of foreign and domestic enemies. But this is not all, our misfortunes would not end here. We should also have the inexpressible mortification of being obliged to submit to a foreign yoke. To wear the chains which our enemies would forge for us. To RECEIVE (oh! intolerable thought) THE LAW FROM FRANCE.—To feel on our necks the feet of an enemy over whom we have so often triumphed. To be the sport and the victims of this enemy when, by throwing off all restraints of religion, order, and government, he is become the most furious, sanguinary, and destructive monster, that ever prowled on the face of the earth—To continue in subjection to this monster—to be ruled by his iron rod—to be tried by his revolutionary tribunals—to be compelled to submit to whatever fashion of Government he may think proper to impose upon us, as the means of exercising his *own* authority, of satiating his malice, of glutting his cruelty, and of supplying his wants—and finally to have all these sufferings aggravated by the insult, with which he invariably accompanies all his oppressions, that of being told that he has brought us liberty and independence.

This

This description, although it exhibits scenes which to the mind of an Englishman are infinitely worse than death, is in no respect the offspring of fancy. Our enemies do not conceal their designs—they do not attempt to disguise the malice they bear us. They are perpetually giving vent to their rage, and exulting by anticipation in the mighty ruin they hope to bring upon us. They cannot either speak or write without shewing that the destruction of this Country is the wish nearest their hearts, and the object which they labour most to effect. But particularly have they given an unbounded loose to their expressions of hate, fury, and vengeance, since their last Revolution, which took place on the 4th of September, 1797, and by which the violent party gained an intire ascendancy, and put an end to all the hopes which were till then entertained of Peace. No Englishman should be unacquainted with the dispositions and views of these inveterate enemies. It would be an almost endless task to recite all their declarations of wrath and vengeance against us. A few specimens are abundantly more than sufficient to apprise us what we have to expect; if, through any deficiency of vigilance or vigour on our part, they should find an opportunity of effecting their mischievous designs.

In order to prepare for the accomplishment of their great project, the Invasion and Conquest of England, the Executive Directory on the 26th October, 1797, Decreed that there should be assembled, without delay, *on the Coasts of the Ocean*, an Army, which should be called THE ARMY OF ENGLAND.

On the same day the Directory, in order to rouse their miserable and oppressed subjects to enter into their plans against this Country, issued a Proclamation addressed to the French people, which contains the following passages.

“ *It is at London that the calamities of Europe are fabricated; it is there that we must put an end to them.*”

“ Crown at length your exploits by an invasion of the Island whither your Ancestors carried slavery under William the Conqueror, and bring back thither *the Genius of Liberty*, which must land there at the same moment with the French.”

In pursuance of the same design the Directory on the 21st of November issued another Proclamation, addressed likewise to the French people, in which they say—that “ a lawless enemy has repelled in fact all the overtures which could alone tend to pacification\*. You know this enemy; your indignation fixes on and points him out by name—it is the Cabinet of St. James’s—it is the most corrupting and the most corrupted of the Governments of Europe—it is the English Government.”

“ The Great Nation will avenge the Universe, and for that purpose, Frenchmen, more means than one present themselves to you. The most worthy and the quickest is *a descent upon England.*”

\* It is surely impossible that this bare faced lie should impose upon any individual even in France. Where can the man be found who does not know that these miscreants, who began the War, instead of having made a single overture for Peace, have themselves repelled every overture that we have made for the termination of hostilities.

“ Thus

“ THUS LET THE ARMY OF ENGLAND GO  
 “ AND DICTATE TERMS OF PEACE IN LON-  
 “ DON! Go gallant Republicans, second the  
 “ unanimous wish of the nation; go and restore  
 “ the liberty of the Seas.”—“ And since the British  
 “ Government looks at this present moment  
 “ with a ferocious smile on the calamities which  
 “ have befallen the Continent, and glories in its  
 “ wealth, *force it to pay its quota towards the*  
 “ *expences of the War.*”—“ What a resplendent  
 “ glory is held forth to the *Army of England*;  
 “ it is sufficient to point it out.”

On the ceremonial of a public audience, at which Buonaparte presented the ratification of Peace with the Emperor, the President of the Directory addressed a long speech to the above General, who had been nominated to the Command of the Army of England. In this speech the following passages deserve the particular notice of every Briton.

“ Peace restores order; but above all, it will  
 “ procure us the inexpressible advantage of being  
 “ able to consolidate the Republican Govern-  
 “ ment, and to enable you to give a blow to the  
 “ insolence of England, to the *conquest* of which  
 “ you were called.”

“ Go then, Citizen General, crown so glori-  
 “ ous a life, *by a Conquest* which the Great Na-  
 “ tion owes to its insulted dignity.”

“ Let the Conquerors of the Rhine, the Po,  
 “ and the Tiber follow your steps—the Ocean  
 “ will be proud of conveying them. He is an  
 “ untamed slave who blushes at his chains—he  
 “ invokes by his roarings the vengeance of the  
 “ earth on the Tyrant which oppresses his waves.

“ —He



" —He will combat on your side—the Elements  
 " themselves submit to the man who is free.  
 " Pompey did not disdain to crush the PIRATES:  
 " go, ye, greater than that Roman, and chain  
 " up that gigantic BUCCANEER, who tyrannizes  
 " over the sea; go and punish in London out-  
 " rages which have been too long unpunished."

It is not unlikely that such language produced, in a considerable degree at least, its desired effect on those to whom it was meant to be addressed. The prospect of the Conquest of England could not fail to be pleasing to the People of France. —The address of a Deputation of the Merchants of Paris to the Directory may seem to afford a striking proof of the success which had attended the attempt of rousing the vengeance of the French nation against this Country. When, however, it is considered that the trade of France is totally ruined in consequence of the Revolution, and that such a character as a Merchant is scarcely to be found in all Paris, the pompous offer contained in the address must appear to be rather a ridiculous gasconade contrived by artifice, than any proof of the ability of our enemies to furnish the funds, which they would rejoice to employ in our destruction.—The address, however, if it be no test of ability contains abundant evidence of malice, as the following extracts will sufficiently prove.

The Deputation was introduced by the Minister of Finance who in his speech thus addressed the Directory.

" After having secured the tranquillity of Europe, you have determined, since it seems decreed that the *the French Republic shall only*

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" make



“ *make Peace with their Enemies at their own Capitals, to send to England those Columns who have made Victory the Companion of their Banners.*”

“ The Merchants of Paris, in this determination, augur favourably to the *liberty of the Seas*, and to the restoration of Commerce. They are persuaded, that the moment is arrived to prove to an *enemy, who always fly when closely pressed*, that the French will terminate a War, prolonged only because a *handful of Pirates* have the barbarism to calculate upon it as an event favourable to their interests.”

“ The Traders of Paris, come to request the Legislative Body to open a Loan, of which the premium should be hypotheticated upon our victories.”

“ The Loan may be called an *English Loan.*”

The spokesman of the Deputation then delivered his address to the Directory, which contained the following expressions.

“ At the moment when the French nation prepares to encounter in the combat, her eternal and implacable Enemy—Every man who carries a heart at once truly French and Republican is seized with deep and animating enthusiasm.”

“ Ah! it is, in vain that the English seek to hide themselves in their numerous Ships. It is in vain that they hope to escape *just punishment*; we will carry into the middle of their Country that vengeance which they have inflicted on desolate provinces.”

“ Citizen

“ Citizen Directors, the Merchants of Paris,  
 “ of whom we believe ourselves to be the organ,  
 “ are anxious that you should transmit to the  
 “ Executive Body a message to invite them to  
 “ open a Loan, *which will afford a sure and*  
 “ *ready means to effectuate a Descent upon*  
 “ *England.* This Loan may be mortgaged upon  
 “ an indirect imposition.”

The President Barras, in a message, communicating this offer to the Council of Five Hundred, observed that the fund of 40 millions to be raised in this manner would be “ secured on the success of the grand operation which the Directory is now preparing.” And in the Council, Jean de Brie observed that the standard of victory would soon “ **PROCEED TO PUNISH ALBION**  
 “ **FOR ITS LONG CATALOGUE OF CRIMES**  
 “ **AGAINST HUMANITY.**”

If any Englishman should not feel his blood boil with indignation on the perusal of insults like these, he is a disgrace to the memory of those gallant heroes, who conquered in the fields of Cressy, Agincourt, and Poitiers. But I am persuaded, that such insolent menaces cannot fail to excite emotions of just resentment in the breasts of my countrymen, and to inspire them with a consciousness, that Britons are as able and as willing as ever, to avenge the threats, and to punish the temerity of their audacious foes.

In the hope of facilitating the execution of their projects, our enemies attempt, by a variety of artifices, to blunt the edge of our alarm, and to conceal from some persons the danger which impends over all. *Divide and conquer* is the principle upon which most of their successes have

been founded, and they hope to succeed, by the aid of that principle in this country. It is of infinite importance to them to prevent, if possible, that union among us, which the mere idea of a French invasion is calculated to produce; and they employ all their arts of delusion for that purpose. They do not, indeed, seek to amuse us any longer with the benevolent tender of the "Rights of Man." They know too well that after the bitter experience which so large a part of mankind has had of their liberty, equality, and fraternity, it would not avail to offer us those  *blessings* , which, both in France and wherever else they have been conferred, have been found to produce the most abject slavery, the most cruel oppression, and an accumulation of all the miseries that can afflict human nature. They cannot conceal that their system of universal emancipation and felicity has been proved to be a cheat and delusion—that wherever it has been tried, it has been attended with public ruin and private calamity; and that it has been fraught with the greatest misery to those whom it flattered the most, to the lower classes of society, into whose once chearful cup it infused the poison of discontent, and whom, by involving the wealthy in ruin, it deprived of their only resource for an honest and comfortable subsistence.

Judging rightly that artifices, the detection of which is so notorious, would no longer succeed, they change their ground, and resort to new schemes of deception. They address themselves to the different political parties into which we are split, in the hope that the animosity, which ever accompanies political dissention, will prevail over that which ought to unite all parties against a com-

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mon enemy. They even seek to inspire certain descriptions of persons with the hope of favour and safety, and affect to count upon their co-operation in the projected descent. Thus they insinuate that they expect to meet as "*auxiliaries*" "those thousands of generous men who have struggled for Parliamentary Reform." Sometimes, they even pretend that they do not hate the *British nation*, and that they intend only to punish its *Government*; and sometimes that their vengeance is solely directed against the "*Cabinet of London*." Nay, they have had the insolence to hold out their insidious lures to the British Navy, and to invite it to favour the attempts of a foe, who trembles at its name, by pretending to make an exception in favour of what they call the "Mutineers at the Nore."

The obvious inconsistency of these different professions, would alone be sufficient to prove that they are insincere, and meant only to lull the vigilance of those who are weak enough to be imposed on by such shallow artifices. Such various and contradictory descriptions of the classes, which are to be exempted from the effects of French wrath, fully demonstrate that no favour whatever is intended to be shewn. If no injury be intended to the British people, why allude particularly to the thousands who have struggled for Parliamentary Reform? And if the Cabinet, that is the Administration who have conducted the war, are alone to be the object of vengeance, why throw out such repeated threats against the Government; a term which is certainly meant to include not only the King but the Parliament?

But



But the perfidy of these intimations of particular favour will appear still more glaring, when they are compared with the general object, which the enemy does not scruple to avow. That object is nothing less than the *Conquest of England*. Can such an object be reconciled with any professions of friendship for the people of England, even considering them as distinct from their government? Can the people of England have any thing to hope for after the conquest of their country? Is there an Englishman who can make up his mind to such an event, or reconcile it to his feelings to depend on the favour of France? I detest the system, and deprecate the success of our English reformers: but, for Heaven's sake! if the Constitution is to be overthrown, let it be rather by English traitors than by our natural enemies—At all events let us keep out a foreign foe. If I must suffer for my fidelity to my Sovereign, and my attachment to the Constitution, let me rather be condemned by a Committee of the Corresponding Society, than ordered to execution by a French General. I should then, at least, have the satisfaction of hoping that the Navy of England, instead of being in the possession of France, would still be employed in defending the independence of my country. And I should hope that anarchy, proscription, bloodshed, and domestic convulsions, would again terminate, as they have heretofore done. But if once a foreign foe has the disposal of the country, the ruin will be total and remediless. In like manner I cannot doubt that the friends of Revolution, even if they determine actively to pursue their designs, would choose rather to trust their fate to a Jury of their countrymen, the lenity of whom some of them have experienced, than to the



the favour of French invaders, of whose lenity no proofs have ever yet been given, whose character is perfidy even to their best friends, and whose tenderest mercies are the very extreme of cruelty. A love of liberty exists in every English breast although we may differ considerably in our notions of freedom. But it is plain that a subjection to a foreign yoke, would be equally fatal to all our systems of liberty. We must all be slaves alike, when our country ceases to be free and independent. Can it, therefore, be presumed, that any Englishman would promote an event which would doom him irrecoverably to the worst species of slavery. Oft have slaves fought with inextinguishable ardour for the freedom of their country—Nay, are we not told every day, that when groaning under the tyranny of Robespierre, Frenchmen were inspired with a patriotic enthusiasm, by the tempt of the Combined Powers to invade their territories? And shall a foreign enemy call upon Britons to assist in the subjugation of their native land? Shall Britons of *any* description endure the insult of being singled out as auxiliaries in such an enterprize? Let the friends of Parliamentary Reform remember that they have been so insulted.

But our ancient and implacable foes do not confine their threats to the invasion and conquest of Great Britain. There is an old score of vengeance which they kindly give us notice they mean to pay off. The great extent of our commerce—the invincible superiority of our navy—that matchless prosperity which has so long excited the envy of France—that spirit and bravery by which we have so long repelled her boundless and destructive ambition—these are unpardonable offences,

fences, and must be punished. The haughty foe threatens "to punish in London these outrages which have been too long unpunished."—He represents us as his "eternal and implacable enemy,"—as "a Nest of Pirates," which he is "determined to crush."—He boasts that he will "carry VENGEANCE into the MIDDLE OF OUR COUNTRY," that he will "PUNISH ALBION FOR ITS LONG CATALOGUE OF CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY." And on innumerable occasions he describes us by the appellation of the "MODERN CATHAGE," and avows his intention of EXTERMINATING US, as ancient Carthage was exterminated by the Romans, to whom he is ever fond of comparing himself.

In these insolent and rancorous threats, let every Briton see the treachery of those declarations by which our enemies endeavour to make us believe that they "do not hate the British nation."—Let every friend of reform see the perfidy of those particular exemptions, which these enemies pretend to make in favour of him and his political adherents. Who shall hope to elude that general vengeance with which all are threatened? If we are to be punished for the offences of our ancestors against France, who shall hope escape? If we are to answer for the sins of our forefathers, who is less guilty than his neighbour? If Great Britain is to share the fate of Carthage, destruction impends equally over all. We will, however, be thankful for the hint respecting Carthage, and remember that *that* once opulent city owed its ruin to the dissensions of its inhabitants, and the strife of its parties, in the moment of danger.

It is plain that the Gallic Directors find it necessary to rekindle, in the minds of their oppressed subjects, all the ancient antipathy of France against this country. By reviving this national sentiment, they hope, in some measure, to draw off the attention of that miserable and enslaved people, from the yoke which they are obliged to bear, and to amuse their fancy with a prospect, which can never fail to be grateful to French ambition. They hold out the conquest of Britain as a kind of relief from the most bitter and degrading servitude, to which a nation was ever reduced, and they hope to obtain a chearful co-operation in an enterprize, the idea of which is enough to make a Frenchman forget his chains, and to fill him with enthusiasm. And shall Englishmen be less sensible of a national spirit?—Shall they be less susceptible of enthusiasm, when called to *the defence of their country*?—If Frenchmen can be inspired with ardour to avenge their ancient quarrel under the banners of their sanguinary tyrants, when their success would serve only to rivet their own chains, shall Britons be less ardent to aid their lawful Government in repelling the attack, and in preserving every thing dear to them from the destructive rage of Gallic invaders. If we were destitute of a Navy to guard our coasts, I am confident that British valour would be fully competent to the protection of the British soil against all the force of these swaggering bullies—that we should want neither numbers, nor discipline, nor courage, to receive them on our shores, and to convince them that we are not degenerated from those ancestors, who have so often vanquished them on their own territories. Every arm that

can wield a sword would be raised to make them repent of their rashness, in daring to approach the Cliffs of Albion. Parties would lay aside their animosity, and remember only that they are *Britons* in the moment of danger. Even the most factious—the disaffected—those who seek to bring about a Revolution, would feel at that moment, that the English Monarchy is infinitely preferable to a Gallic yoke—they would discover that an Antigallican spirit is not to be eradicated from an English breast—and they would join their efforts to ward off that indiscriminate ruin, in which they would be inevitably involved, should this country ever be at the mercy of a foe, who holds the very name of Englishman in utter abhorrence.

But such is the unexampled strength, such the invincible prowess, and the immense superiority of our triumphant Navy, that we are not called upon to prepare for a service of personal danger, and the English reformers are not likely to have such an opportunity of retrieving a part of their character. Protected by our victorious flag, it has been our peculiar privilege, through the whole of this unprecedented War, to triumph over our enemies without ever seeing them, without any exposure of our personal security, without any interruption of our domestic quiet, while a great part of Europe has experienced all the horrors of War, while its cities have been sacked, and its fields drenched with blood. Secure under the same protection we may still, unless it be our own fault, continue to attend our flocks and herds, our farms and merchandise, undisturbed by the din of arms. According to every appearance  
we



we have it in our power to frustrate the designs of the enemy without seeing our Country become the seat of War,—without even any violation of our Coasts. It is wise, indeed, to be prepared for every emergency, however improbable, and our Yeomanry should be always in readiness to co-operate effectually with our regular forces, wherever they may be wanted.

But independently of such prudent precautions, which are the ready way to obviate the danger, all that is required of us to preserve our country and our homes from the inextinguishable fury, and insatiable malice of French Jacobins, is to furnish the supplies necessary to support our brave seamen and soldiers, while engaged in our defence.—Pledged as we are by our repeated declarations—impelled as we are by duty, principle, interest, and inclination, to make every exertion necessary to maintain our national rights and independence, all the exertion we are called upon to make, is to contribute the supplies necessary for our protection. It might have happened that even this exertion had exceeded our ability. If we had been deprived of our naval superiority, our commerce and revenues must have been injured to such a degree, that it would have been impossible to find the pecuniary supplies necessary to carry on even a defensive war; and we must have either submitted to the terms, however humiliating, which the haughty and rancorous foe would have imposed on us, or, chusing rather to expose ourselves to an honourable death than to embrace slavery, we must have prepared to march to whatever parts of our Coast he might choose, for the purpose of disembodying his count-



less and rapacious multitudes.—But, by the blessing of Providence, we have triumphed over the Navies of France, Spain, and Holland, and have reduced them to inaction and insignificance : the consequence is that our commerce and revenues are in the most flourishing state—and it is admitted, even by those, who, in violation of their reiterated and most solemn engagements, continue to oppose both the measures of Government and the sense of the Country, that our wealth and resources are fully adequate to the relief of the public exigencies.

But although our resources are abundant, the application of them is a matter of no small difficulty. The object is not merely to find the supplies necessary for the public service, but to devise that mode of drawing them forth, which, while sure of being effectual, will be the least burthensome to the subject, and particularly to the lower classes, and the least injurious to credit and to commerce—to our present interests, and to those of posterity. This is become a most arduous task, in consequence of the great extent of our debt, the heavy weight of our burdens, and the depressed state of our funds. All these circumstances render it, in spite of all our wealth, a difficult and painful operation, to raise so many millions as are necessary, not merely for the service of the year 1798, but to prevent the year 1797 from being lost in the annals of Great Britain, as an independent nation.

But this difficulty will soon be surmounted if, duly impressed with a sense of our situation, we are willing to co-operate in our own preservation. It is in our power very much to facilitate the arduous

arduous duty which Government has to perform, in raising the supplies. If we shew a disposition to contribute chearfully, what we must contribute, if we would escape destruction—if we examine with candour and support with spirit the measures, which, after full and mature deliberation, shall be adopted by lawful authority for the important purpose of meeting the exigencies of the crisis—if in this manner we assist, not merely Government, but ourselves, we shall speedily find that we are more than equal to the embarrassments we have to contend with. But if, on the contrary, we refuse to contribute our own efforts—if losing sight of the invaluable interests we have to secure, and of the unspeakable evils we have to avert, we resist every measure proposed for our preservation, and counteract all the endeavours of those whose situation imposes on them the care of the public safety; we may then be overwhelmed with difficulties, which it would otherwise be easy to surmount.

It is always a disagreeable thing to be obliged to pay money without an immediate and adequate equivalent; and when the payment is made to the State, we are apt to lose sight of the benefits we are to receive in return, or rather of the inconveniencies to which we should be exposed, if the supplies we so reluctantly contribute, were not to be raised. Hence we are induced to view the particular mode of supply which is resorted to in an unfavourable light, and to wish, at any rate, to get rid of it, in the blind confidence that some other might be devised which would be less burdensome. But let us take care how we give way to such impressions, at a juncture like the present.

Let

Let us reflect on the possible consequences of frustrating, at such a time, the measures that have been adopted for the defence of the Country. Those consequences may be not merely the substitution of other measures still more disagreeable, but the impossibility of providing any adequate, any effectual means of safety.

Let us remember that in selecting a plan of finance at such a time a choice of expedients is only a choice of difficulties, that every mode is sure to be attended with its own peculiar inconveniencies, and that the best possible mode is that, which, upon the whole, is liable to the least objection.

It is frequently and truly said, that what we pay at this time for the public service, is, in effect, a contribution of a part of our property, for the preservation of the remainder. But this description, though certainly just as far as it goes, is very inadequate. It is not merely our property that we have to preserve, but every thing that is dear to us as men and as Britons—every thing that is valuable to us as social beings. If only our wealth, our commerce, and revenues were at stake, we might hope to be happy and respectable, even after the loss of these valuable interests, if we preserved our constitution, our rights, liberties, and independence.—Nay, we might hope to erect a new edifice of prosperity upon those solid foundations, which have hitherto been the basis of all our greatness. But if we suffer our enemies to triumph over us, not only the edifice will be laid in ruins, but the foundations will be subverted, and we shall no longer be numbered among the nations of Europe. Nor is that all.—We must expect

expect this hitherto peaceful and happy land to become a scene of horrors, the most distant idea of which is enough to

—————“ Harrow up our soul, to freeze our blood,  
 “ To make our eyes, like stars, start from their spheres,  
 “ Our knotted and combined locks to part,  
 “ And each particular hair to stand an end,  
 “ Like quills upon the fretful porcupine.”

HAMLET.

Shall we at such a time grudge the contributions we are called upon to make for the public service? Shall we obstruct by cavil, by perverse and uncandid constructions, the operation of measures which are adopted for our preservation from calamities, which language is unequal to describe? Shall we, like children, reject the draught, on which our existence depends, because it is nauseous to the palate? Rather let us rejoice that an efficacious medicine is to be had—let us reflect on the *disease*, and the *remedy* will lose all its bitterness—let us do all in our power to give effect to the endeavours of those who are constitutionally entrusted to administer the means of safety—let us not only answer their call, but go beyond it wherever it is in our power so to do—let us contrive to give more than is demanded of us, wherever we can spare more from the necessary support of our families. We have an opportunity afforded us of so doing by the clause respecting Voluntary Contributions in the new Bill of Supply. Every farthing so advanced is laid out to the greatest advantage. It will produce not only an hundred, or a thousand fold, but will return in blessings which are beyond all estimation. Every  
 4 man,



man, therefore, who can make a contribution, however small, will act wisely in bringing it forward. He will render himself and his family the most essential service in his power to bestow—and he will enjoy the honour of having his name enrolled as a Saviour of his Country. Let us, however, not merely furnish with cheerfulness the additional supplies required of us, and swell their amount by the additional streams of spontaneous patriotism, but let us do every thing in our power to render the subsisting revenue as productive as possible. Far from being guilty of the unpardonable meanness of seeking for opportunities to evade any of the taxes, let us make it a point of conscience to pay every tax which is due by law. Many of our present burdens are rendered necessary by an evasion of taxes. At all times such a practice is mean, pitiful, and dishonest, and calculated even to disappoint that sordid avarice which gives it birth, by creating a necessity for burdens heavier than those which are evaded. But at a time like this it is disgraceful and criminal in the highest degree, for it leads to utter ruin, and to the introduction of every misery and every crime, that can disgrace human nature or embitter human existence. Far from being guilty of such a meanness ourselves let us do all in our power to check it in others. Let us resolve on a conscientious and exact payment of the minutest duty. The revenue often derives its most effectual aid from the accumulation of small payments. If the single tax upon receipts were fairly paid it would astonish any one to know what a relief it would afford to the State.

I cannot



I cannot here avoid an allusion to the tax on clocks and watches; a tax which it would be ridiculous to call oppressive in the smallest degree. We are told by many persons that this tax has materially injured the trade in those articles, and that many artists employed in their fabrication are consequently out of employ. If this be a true statement, instead of being founded in the apprehensions of persons engaged in that trade, respecting the probable effect of the tax, it is one of the severest censures upon the conduct of those persons who have desisted from the use of watches. If any person can abandon the use of so valuable and almost indispensable a convenience as a watch, to avoid the payment of half a crown annually towards the protection of the Country, he or she deserves to have no other means of measuring time, than by counting the succession of miseries which would attend a successful irruption of the French into this Country.

The plan now adopted of calling upon individuals for contributions, in proportion to their payment to the assessed taxes, has been so fully discussed, as to render it unnecessary to enter into an investigation of its merits. I am disposed to believe it the best that could be devised under the present circumstances of the Country, because, amidst all the opposition that has been made to it, no one has shewn that a better could be adopted—And it cannot be doubted that the Gentlemen in Opposition would be glad to increase that unpopularity which is attached to the unwelcome office of raising supplies, and at the same time to purchase some popularity for themselves, by proving they were capable of devising better expedients

ents for the public service than the Minister, whom they wish to displace. They would spare no pains to convince the public of this if it were in their power. At all events it is a just ground for the most solid satisfaction, that it has been found practicable to provide for the safety of the Country by a plan of finance, which imposes no additional burdens whatever upon the lower orders—which does not require any person to contribute one farthing unless he is possessed of an annual income of 60*l.*—which obliges persons possessed of 60*l.* a year to pay no more than one one hundred and twentieth part of the same—which proceeds upwards from persons of that description, according to the respective ability of each individual—and which does not require from any person, however wealthy, more than a tenth of his annual income.\* While this measure is so light in its operation, it has also the excellence of consulting the public credit and future prosperity of the Country. For it is founded upon the principle of providing a great part of the supplies for the year within the year, and without any permanent addition to the public debt. The vast importance of adhering to this principle, in the present state of our finances, is too obvious to require any illustration.

It is a singular occurrence, that while we were employed in giving effect to a principle, the utility of which is so apparent, the President of the American Congress should recognise that principle in expressions so remarkable and apposite as to

\* Thus a person of 60*l.* per annum will only pay 10 Shillings; and one of 200*l.* per annum 20*l.* at most. How are we oppressed!

deserve

deserve our particular attention. The speech of Mr. Adams to the Congress of the United States, on the 23d November, 1797, contains the following passages—" Since the decay of the Feudal System, by which the public defence was provided for chiefly at the expence of individuals, the system of Loans has been introduced, and as no nation can raise within the year, by taxes, sufficient sums for its defence and military operations in time of War, the sums loaned, and debts contracted, have necessarily become the subject of what have been called the Funding Systems."

" The consequences arising from the continued accumulation of public debts in other Countries ought to admonish us to be careful to prevent their growth in our own. The national defence must be provided for, as well as the support of Government; but both should be accomplished *as much as possible by immediate taxes, and as little as possible by Loans.*"

These observations, while they tend strongly to confirm the wisdom of the operation resorted to in this Country, also serve to display our wealth and prosperity, in being able at so easy a rate, to carry such a measure into execution. Those who consider this measure as oppressive, ought at the same time to reflect whether it would appear to them in the same light if the tri-coloured flag were waving on the Tower of London, if they saw the Bank of England pillaged by Republican Troops, or if they were obliged to bring their contributions to the Camp of *The Army of England* at Hounslow or Blackheath. Under such circumstances I am inclined to think

they would curse their folly, in not being willing to contribute a 10th part of their income, to save themselves from the consequences of a French Invasion. Without noticing the worst of those consequences, and considering them merely in their relation to property, instead of a 10th of our *income*, is it supposed that a 10th or even a 4th of our *capital* would satisfy the rapacity of our enemies, were it once in their power to enforce our contributions\*. The Dutch have been compelled to contribute a fourth of their capital, besides the immensely heavy charges they have borne in supporting and cloathing the Armies of France, in consequence of their wanting spirit to repel a French Invasion. But France did not wish to ruin the Dutch, for she wanted their assistance to accomplish her projects against this Country.—But the ruin of Great Britain is her grand and ultimate object. And it is ridiculous to suppose any bounds to her malice, rapacity, and revenge, in case she should once be able to erect her victorious standard on British Ground.

Indeed, there seems to be but one objection of any weight to counter-balance the many advantages, which recommend the plan now under consideration. Notwithstanding every endeavour to divide the burden, as equally as possible, among the persons who are to sustain it, according to their respective ability, there are, unavoidably, some persons whose share of that burden will be much lighter than their circumstances would ena-

\* If it were once come to a question of contribution to the French, let every Stockholder remember, that the Funds would give him no assistance to furnish the sums that would be demanded of him. The moment the British Government is overthrown, the credit of the Country must be annihilated, and the Funds would instantly become of no value.



ble them to bear. Expenditure is taken as the criterion of ability, and considering how few there are in this age of luxury who do not spend as much as they can afford, it must be allowed to be the best criterion that could be discovered. But there are still some persons whose æconomical dispositions keep their expences far below the limits which the affluence of their circumstances would allow them to observe. Such persons will have an opportunity afforded them to correct this disparity, by their voluntary contributions. And without appealing to their patriotism, a sense of justice will be sufficient to induce them to avail themselves of that opportunity. For though they are undoubtedly intitled to limit their expences within what bounds they please, they must allow, that when a general contribution is called for, the effect of which will be the protection of the whole of their property, their share of that contribution should be calculated, not by the measure of their expences, but by that of the property, which is to derive such protection. And if in consequence of their restricted manner of living they happen to be assessed less in proportion to their ability than their neighbours, they must forfeit all claim to the character of just and honourable men, and all pretensions to respect in the eyes of the world, if they take advantage of that circumstance, when so fair an opening is afforded them, by the clause for Voluntary Contributions, to supply the deficiency.\*

\* A brilliant example of this kind may be expected from the Father of a juvenile Senator, who, to judge from his choice of political associates, seems disposed to pursue a system, which, if it prevail, will swallow up the whole of that immense wealth which paternal industry and æconomy have accumulated, before it can be expected, in the course of nature, to devolve upon him,

I must



I must be permitted on this occasion to expostulate with many of my Countrymen, on the inconsiderate haste with which they suffered themselves to condemn and oppose the measure in question. I must remind them of the strong terms in which they expressed their unqualified disapprobation of its principle, and of the zeal with which they endeavoured to get rid of it at once, without any investigation of its merits, and without giving an opportunity to bring forward those modifications, which have since afforded so much satisfaction, and of which it was in the first instance declared to be susceptible. Never before did any measure meet with so sudden, so violent, and so general an opposition. Had that opposition succeeded, who can presume to calculate the consequences which might have ensued? Who will take upon him to assert that another measure adequate to the defence of the Country could have been carried into effect? A direct tax upon property would have met with a still more strenuous opposition; because it would have required that disclosure of circumstances, which was made one of the grounds of objection to the present Bill, although that Bill really contains nothing to warrant such an objection. The only remaining resource would have been an ordinary Loan, the interest of which must have been defrayed by an immense addition to our permanent taxes, and its principal would have been an alarming augmentation of our national debt. The possible effect of such a measure on our public credit, is enough to make one shudder. But supposing that no such serious consequences had ensued, still the additional expence which would have

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attended

attended another considerable application of the funding system, would have been immense. The consequences of resorting again to that system, whether more or less disastrous, have been prevented by a firmness on the part of the Minister, which I think redounds very much to his honour. It was his duty to adhere to a plan which he was convinced on the maturest deliberation was the best that could be adopted in the existing state of affairs. And I defy his most inveterate enemies not to admire the manliness with which he declared that, welcome as popularity would be to him if acquired in the course of his duty, no dread of unpopularity should induce him to abandon a principle which appeared to him so necessary to be acted upon, as that on which his system was founded. In consequence of such firmness, instead of being driven to the ruinous expedient of funding considerably more than double the amount of the money borrowed, and of raising taxes adequate to that amount, a plan is adopted which is by far the cheapest mode of raising supplies, except a *direct* contribution upon property—a plan which is the nearest possible mode of taxing individuals according to their *real* income, without obliging them to disclose what that income is ; and which approaches as nearly as the circumstances of the country would allow, to the system of raising the supplies of the year within the year, which is obviously the best possible system of finance both in respect to the present age and of posterity.

I trust that the public will, in future, take care how they suffer themselves to be led into a blind and indiscriminate opposition to measures  
con-

connected with their essential interests, and the rejection of which may involve the safety and existence of the country. I trust they will be on their guard against those feelings, which are apt to prejudice us against every proposal, the object of which is to take money out of our pockets, and which, upon the principle that present evils are always most sensibly felt, dispose us to believe that almost any plan would be better than the one actually proposed. The imposition of taxes is at all times an evil, but it is necessary to endure this evil in order to avoid a greater; and we should never suffer ourselves to be biased against a measure which is capable of answering the purpose tolerably well, unless we are satisfied, on very clear grounds, that a better has been rejected: and in forming our judgment of the comparative merit of different plans, we ought not to suffer our attention to be drawn off by every crude and undigested scheme, which even the best motives may induce individuals to bring forward. What appears specious and captivating in theory, often proves, upon a very little investigation, to be highly injudicious, if not absolutely impracticable. And whatever partiality any one may feel in favour of his own ideas, no one ought to forget that a Minister would act in a very reprehensible manner, who should consent to part with the substance for the shadow, by abandoning a measure which has been maturely digested, and which is evidently capable of being reduced into practice, for one, however plausible, the success of which would be precarious.

It

It is likewise our duty in judging of such matters, to preserve ourselves from prejudices against men as well as against measures. Both are alike intitled to candour. It is nothing less than madness to load a Minister with unpopularity, because his situation leaves him no other alternative than that of either raising taxes, or sacrificing the country. If the operation of raising supplies is a painful one to the people, it is abundantly more so to him. Nor can there be a man in the country whose comfort, happiness, and interest, so much depend on his avoiding, if possible, the imposing of any burdens whatever; or, if that be impossible, on his adopting that system of finance, which would be at once the least grievous to individuals, and the least injurious to the state.

But it will be to little purpose that we preserve our minds from the influence of those prejudices, which, like weeds, are apt to grow spontaneously, unless we are on our guard against the misrepresentations of others. Faction is ever busy in endeavouring to impose on the credulous, and to excite or encrease discontent. And as the cause which it now favours is the most wicked and flagitious, that ever obtained the assistance of factious men, so are the means employed in its behalf the most profligate and detestable that were ever resorted to, by the opposers of Government.—Nothing is omitted that can have the least tendency to seduce the public mind, to contaminate the public principles, to relax all the ties of society, and to excite a contempt for every thing which has hitherto been held sacred by mankind. The public prints, whether daily,  
E monthly,



monthly, or annual, which set themselves in opposition to the cause of Order, Religion, and Government, are filled with lies, treason, and blasphemy. Nothing is too false for them to assert—nothing too profligate for them to inculcate—nothing too shocking for them to avow. It is a truly alarming symptom that such papers as some of those which daily cover the tables of our coffee-houses, and which, sometimes, find their way into private families (the heads of which would be highly displeased at having their loyalty called in question), poisoning the minds of children and servants, should be tolerated. If it were merely on the score of *lying*, it is a wonder that those papers have not been long excluded from all places resorted to by decent and well affected persons. If a man be known to be guilty of this mean and contemptible vice, he is thought unworthy of the smallest degree of confidence, and his company is universally shunned. But these mischievous prints are still endured, although they teem daily with the grossest lies, with lies which are proved to be wilful by the inconsistency and contradiction with which they are accompanied. Hitherto they have met with too much success; and although the subjects on which they attempt to deceive are of so important a nature, that an imposition in regard to those subjects is an injury of the deepest kind, they have hitherto been permitted to carry on their system of deception, almost without contradiction. Happily for the Public a Weekly Paper is now established, one main object of which is to detect and bring to light their lies and other misrepresentations, and which has

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purſued that object with great ſucceſs. I really think this a fortunate circumſtance for the cauſe of truth, order, religion, and morality. Whoever has peruſed the few numbers already publiſhed of the Anti-jacobin, has found in it the moſt incontrovertible proofs that the deſcription I have given of the Prints, uſually dignified with the name of Oppoſition Papers, is perfectly juſt, and that with them *lying* is the order of the day. They will, doubtleſs, be a little more on their guard, now that they are ſure of being expoſed. But the public will alſo be on their guard, and recollect that whoever has been once caught in a wilful and deliberate lie, can never more be deſerving of confidence \*.

I truſt

\* The Anti-jacobin has alſo treated with becoming ſeverity the blaſphemous tendency of the Seditious Prints, which, by their frequent impiety, prove that they are no leſs hostile to the intereſts of Religion, than to thoſe of Order and Government. One of them has dared to ridicule Mr. Wilberforce becauſe he was not aſhamed to avow, in theſe days of infidelity, that he looked with hope and confidence to the Saviour of the World. See Anti-jacobin, December 25, 1797. The ſame Paper had alſo the audacity to call by the appellation of a "Frenchified Farce," the devout, public, and ſolemn thankſgiving, which our pious Sovereign thought it his duty to offer to the Almighty for thoſe Naval victories, to which this country is indebted for its preſervation. But although the patrons of infidelity wiſh to degrade this devout ſolemnity, by comparing it with the worſe than Heatheniſh ceremonies of French Atheiſts, there is reaſon to hope that it was approved by HIM to whom we are indebted for all our mercies, and to whom we look for a continuance of his favour and protection. After a long and almoſt uninterrupted ſeries of bad weather, the day ſet apart on this occaſion was diſtinguiſhed as one of the moſt beautiful that was ever known in this country at that ſeaſon of the year.—And no ſooner was it over than the unfavourable weather returned. Nor is it undeſerving of notice,

I trust that it has been made fully to appear, in the foregoing pages, that it is alike the interest and the duty of every Englishman, of whatever rank, party, or description, to support Government in its endeavours to frustrate the designs of our insolent and implacable foe. On this subject there is no difference of opinion, at least among those persons who profess a wish to preserve the Monarchy. The Members of the Opposition themselves have given a most clear and decided testimony, that the country ought to unite with cordiality and energy, in giving effect to the operations of Government for the defence of the State. Those gentlemen in the most solemn manner have repeatedly declared, that if, upon overtures being made by us, France should refuse to conclude a Peace on fair and honourable terms, the effect would be to unite every hand and every heart in the nation, to assist Government in the most vigorous prosecution of the war. That juncture is now arrived. We have made the overtures so much desired by those gentlemen; although having been originally attacked by France, and, of course, engaged in our own defence, we should not have been liable to the charge of aggression, if no overtures had proceeded from us.—And it is well known that a single one has never been made by the enemy\*. Our overtures have,

that while the metropolis, the scene of this pious solemnity, enjoyed the benign and auspicious rays of the sun, different parts of the country continued to experience an uninterrupted inclemency of season—and a traveller in Wiltshire has declared, that the day was there so stormy that he thought the procession could not take place.

\* It was judiciously observed by Lord Thurlow in a late debate, that the enemy were absolutely afraid of offering us any terms of Peace, lest they should be taken at their words.

however,

however, been repeatedly made and as often rejected. And the last time they were made, the enemy not only refused to listen to them, as he had done before, but accompanied that refusal with the most extravagant and unconscionable demand that we should, in the first instance, and without any compensation, surrender all conquests whatever made by us during the war, and as a prelude to such other conditions as he might afterwards think proper to dictate; and because we would not comply with such a demand, he broke off the treaty, without ever intimating, even in the most distant manner, on what terms he would consent to think of Peace. In fact, so arrogant, so audacious, so insulting, was the conduct of the enemy on this occasion, that when the whole of the negociation was submitted to Parliament, the Members of Opposition did not attempt, as they had formerly done, to throw the blame on us, and both Houses joined in an *unanimous* vote to his Majesty, declaring their firm and stedfast resolution to defend the Throne, and to stand or fall with our Religion, Laws, and Liberties.

The juncture, therefore, is arrived, which the Gentlemen in Opposition had in contemplation, when they pledged themselves and the Country to an unanimous support of Government. They did not stipulate for a change of Administration, nor annex any other condition whatever to their engagement. They simply required that the case should happen which has happened, and under circumstances infinitely stronger than any described by them; and in that case they declared and promised that all opposition should cease. It is true



true they do not themselves adhere to their declarations and promises. On the contrary, they oppose Government with more virulence, if possible, than before. But that does not lessen the force of their authority, that does not in the least invalidate the effect of their testimony, in favour of the line of conduct they had declared it their duty and their intention to pursue. It only proves their own profligacy and wickedness, in violating their most express promises. It only proves that they want virtue to follow the dictates of their own consciences.—It only proves that their opinion and their conduct are at variance, and that they are dishonest in their opposition and false in their professions.—It only proves that when they anticipated the case which has occurred, they either thought that it never could occur, at least in a manner so clear and unequivocal as to preclude all cavil and misconstruction, or that they had formed too high an opinion of their own integrity, in thinking that, in any case, they could sacrifice their private and sinister views, and act an honest part. It only proves, in short, that their opposition is of that desperate and malignant kind, that rather than forego it, they will renounce for ever all claim to the character of men of truth, sincerity, honour, and virtue, and that they will sooner involve their country in utter destruction, and see it invaded and subjugated by France, than suffer it to be saved by men who enjoy the confidence of their Sovereign and of the Public, but whom, in defiance of that confidence, they seem determined, at any risk, to drive from the Administration of affairs.

It

It is a pitiful trick resorted to by the Opposition, with a view to catch that popularity which the public are not at all disposed to allow them, to assert that Peace would be accelerated by a change of Administration. In this they resemble the Quack Doctor, who boasts that he can cure every disease, however obstinate, in order to vend his drugs, which, when taken, instead of relieving the malady are found to increase it, and perhaps to produce others which did not before exist. The only rational mode of attempting to accelerate Peace, is to shew our enemies that we have strength and spirit to repel their attacks; and this the present Administration are at least as able, and much better disposed to do than their opponents.

If the present Ministry had no merits of their own, they would derive a strong claim to support from the consideration that their continuance in office keeps out a set of men, who shew themselves capable of acting so profligate, so flagitious, so desperate a part as that which I have above described. It would, indeed, be easy to shew that, in every point of view, connected with the real and permanent welfare of the country, and the preservation of the Constitution and Liberties of the subject, Ministers have a decided preference over their political adversaries, who are pledged to those modern and subversive principles of innovation and *radical* Reform, which cannot prevail without proving fatal to the Country and Constitution—to our rights and liberties as Englishmen. But these are matters which, however weighty and important, are almost superseded by the awfulness of the present crisis. All personal considerations  
should

should now give way to the imperious and paramount necessity of immediate preservation. We are threatened with an invasion by our ancient and implacable enemy, who, finding that the conquest of this country is the key-stone, without which the immense arch of dominion and terror which he has raised, would soon fall to pieces, declares that he is collecting his whole force to punish at once the crimes of many centuries, and to revenge on our heads the valour and bravery, the exploits and victories of our ancestors, as well as our own.

To frustrate such audacious and mischievous designs, the ready and obvious way is to rally round our Sovereign, to join in the unanimous resolution of the Legislature to stand or fall with him, and to co-operate energetically with those in whom he confides the defence of the Throne and of the Country. If the Gentlemen now in Opposition were in possession of his confidence, and were to shew themselves determined effectually to resist the hostile attempts of France, I should say that we ought to give them our support till the external danger is over, and till the storm which threatens us from the Gallic horizon is dispersed: and that we should, till then, suspend our animosity to them on account of their real or supposed political systems. To refuse, at such a moment to support the Minister, in whom the Crown freely and voluntarily confides, is in effect to abandon our own defence, and to invite the destruction with which the enemy threatens us. To refuse, like Mr. Tierney, to vote Supplies, while the present Administration are in power, is in reality to refuse the Pay of those brave Seamen  
and

and Soldiers, on whom we depend for protection against the long meditated attacks of French invaders.

It is impossible for any question to be more simple than that which presses for our instant determination. It does not involve any point of domestic politics. It is not connected with any feeling of political attachment or antipathy. It does not relate to any difference between Whig and Tory. Nay it does not even concern our form of Government, as an *independent* people. The question is merely between England and France. It is neither more nor less than whether we shall continue to exist as a free, great and respectable nation, or permit our Gallic foes to take possession of our Country, seize our Ships, annihilate our Commerce, pillage our Property, and dispose of our Persons, according to the dictates of their implacable hatred and unbounded revenge.

BRITONS TAKE YOUR CHOICE!!!

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## POSTSCRIPT.

SCARCELY a day passes, but it brings with it some fresh proofs of the hellish rage and malice which inflames the minds of our Gallic Foes. Since the foregoing pages went to Press, the Directory have addressed a message to the Council of Five Hundred, suggesting measures, the object of which is to ruin our trade and manufactures. For that purpose they propose, not only to enforce the law already made, (but which even Robespierian cruelty was not able to carry into effect) to seize all English goods and merchandize in France, but also to enact a law, declaring that

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all



all *neutral* ships whatever, in which any English goods are found, shall be lawful prize; and that no foreign ships, which in the prosecution of their voyage shall have entered a British port, shall be admitted into the ports of France. It remains to be seen whether the Neutral Powers will submit to the yoke which is thus attempted to be imposed upon them, or whether they will unite to vindicate and defend the rights of neutrality. In the mean time let this new and daring attempt to destroy our most valuable interests, and to starve our manufacturers, sink deep into the minds of Britons.

The above message of the Directory contains a declaration, which both accords with the measures therein proposed, and displays in a striking manner the spirit of fury and revenge in which, after having rejected all overtures for Peace, they intend to prosecute the War. "Such is the *first act*," (say these infuriate demons) "according to which, "Peace being restored on the Continent, the *War* "LONG SINCE DECLARED AGAINST ENGLAND\*," (mark this, Gentlemen in opposition) "is

\* The persons who in defiance of the clearest evidence and of the most notorious facts, charge this country with the guilt of aggression, avoid all mention of the circumstance here avowed by the Directory, that the War was declared by France against England. It is impossible for any thing to be more fully established than that France was the aggressor in the War. But as nothing is unimportant which tends to throw any light upon a subject of this nature, a declaration lately made by Lord Auckland in the House of Lords, deserves to be noticed. His Lordship observed, that he was, at length, at liberty to divulge a circumstance, which affords an additional proof that this was a war of aggression on the part of the enemy, and that every endeavour had been made by his Majesty's Ministers to avoid it. The circumstance alluded to by his Lordship was, that when he was appointed to meet French Commissioners in Holland, his instructions were, if possible, to prevent a War; and that General

" *is about to assume the true character which be-  
 " longs to it.*" From this expression, let Britons  
 of every rank and condition learn what they have  
 to expect, if they suffer French malice to prevail  
 either by force or artifice.

The Message of the Directory was soon followed  
 by a Proclamation addressed to the French people.  
 As that Proclamation was sure of being read in  
 this Country, it contains frequent repetitions of  
 the artifice, before resorted to, of making " the  
 " Cabinet of London" the apparent object of  
 Gallic vengeance. But the malignant fury of the  
 French Rulers against the British Nation is too  
 powerful to be concealed by artifice, as will ap-  
 pear on the perusal of the following passages.

" Citizens of every calling, reflect on the im-  
 " portant consequences which must result from the  
 " effort which you are about to make, in order to  
 " humble and punish the pride of the *Cabinet of  
 " London.* For more than a century, *England,*" (no  
 longer the *Cabinet*, but the *Country*, and *that* is to  
 answer *for more than a century*) " has not ceased  
 " to disturb the tranquillity of Europe; her rest-  
 " less and unrelenting ambition has been ever  
 " vexing and turmoiling the Continent," (mind,  
 it is FRANCE who says this) " from which she  
 " imagined herself to be invincibly separated.  
 " Frenchmen, it is your duty to teach *that Island,*  
 " that, notwithstanding its insular situation, it is  
 " by no means inaccessible," (what, then, is the  
 duty of Britons?) " and that you may carry back  
 " into its *bosom*" (the Cabinet is here again for-  
 gotten) " those *calamities* which it has brought

neral Dumourier, who was appointed to meet and confer  
 with him on this subject, has confessed to him, that the French  
 Government by its premature Declaration, had wantonly  
 and perfidiously plunged the two countries into the horrors  
 of War.

" to

“to your firesides. England,” (not the Cabinet)  
 “once disarmed and vanquished, a perpetual  
 “peace is from that instant established, and the  
 “balance of Europe settled on a permanent basis;”  
 (very likely, indeed, but the reason is curious)  
 “for the French Republic, too strong to be at-  
 “tacked, will feel no motive to attack others.  
 “Her greatness will set her above the flights of  
 “ambition.” (Alas, poor Europe! should that  
 ever be the case.)

Notwithstanding these flights, the Proclamation, in a subsequent part, resumes the attempt to persuade us, that the vengeance it breathes is only directed against the “English Cabinet,” and that there does not exist the smallest design “of enslaving the English people.” Surely these conceited Frenchmen must think that the English people have lost, not only their spirit—but their understanding.

But the Administrators, &c. employed in the Central Bureau of Paris have taken care to remove all doubt (if any doubt were possible) whether it is the Cabinet, or the Country, which excites so much wrath. Those administrators, like the Merchants of Paris, have listened to the call of their rulers, and have sent in a contribution towards defraying the expences of the expedition against England. For, unfortunately, our enemies have the start of us, and have begun to make contributions for our *destruction*, before we have made any for our *preservation*. The contribution in question was accompanied with a letter to the Council of Five Hundred, of which I shall quote only one passage, and that without any comment.

AT THE NAME OF ENGLAND THE BLOOD  
 BOILS IN THE VEINS, AND THE HEART  
 THROBS WITH INDIGNATION.



